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ABSTRACT

This paper examines the complex and interrelated issues of inadequate schooling for urban ethnic minority children and declining numbers of ethnic minority teachers. Two observations underlie the paper's approach: teachers are becoming less able and willing to teach students who are different from themselves, and as a result, teacher "inadequacy" contributes to the low opinion that students of color have of the teaching profession thereby making it difficult for them to consider teaching as a career. The paper addresses four main areas: (1) a brief historical review of the context for American ethnic groups' approach to schooling and teaching; (2) a discussion of impediments facing students of color or low-income students in their choice of teaching as a career; (3) strategies for reform of teacher education which would support an interethnic, interclass, and interlingual teaching force; and (4) conclusions which argue for a comprehensive transformation of public school teaching and the preparation of teachers in American colleges and universities through collaboration with local communities. Strategies are suggested which address the larger issues of economic restructuring and community attitudes as well as the specifics of teacher education reform. (Contains 126 references.) (JDD)

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FUNDAMENTAL ISSUES FOR MINORITY TEACHERS AND MULTICULTURAL TEACHER EDUCATION

June A. Gordon

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PREFACE

For the first five years of its existence (1985-1990), the Center for Educational Renewal directed attention to a comprehensive inquiry into the education of educators and the creation of school-university partnerships for simultaneously renewing schools and the preparation of those who work in them.

Currently--and for the next several years--the Center's focus is on strategies for improving the education of educators based on this research and the experience with a dozen partnerships comprising the National Network for Educational Renewal. This Network is now being expanded to include new settings committed to school-university collaboration for the creation of exemplary schools where tomorrow's teachers will be prepared jointly by school-based and university-based personnel.

Inquiry will accompany this action-oriented program, just as it has characterized the Center's work in the past. Center staff members and individuals commissioned for special tasks will probe deeply into such topics as the reward structure in higher education, the curriculum of teacher education, partner or professional development schools, the selection and subsequent evaluation of future teachers, and more. The context for inquiry is the role of education in a society seeking to balance individual rights and responsibilities and the well-being of all. As the twenty century draws to a close, the hopes and promises articulated at its beginning become the goals to be striven for in the twenty-first.

One of these goals is the full participation of all our people in both the processes and the benefits of the "Great American Experiment" in democracy. In spite of the accomplishments toward this goal so frequently celebrated, much remains to be done. I shall not cite here our shortcomings, many of them so shameful that we wince at their history and turn away from their present ramifications. We have not, for example, recognized that the United States of America is not a nation of minorities. Civility--that essential ingredient of a healthy nation--must extend far beyond the parochial limits to which it is now largely confined.

Civility implies the transcendence of self in order to embrace and to assume the rights and obligations of citizenship in a larger social order. Such transcendence requires formal and informal educational experiences extending far beyond what all but a very few families can provide. This education, in turn, requires teachers who have through their won experiences effected the transition from narcissism and parochialism and now understand the demands of civility in a democratic society. But the present preparation of teachers does not contribute significantly to these experiences.

Most teachers bring to school far too narrow a comprehension of the circumstances from which their students come and the conditions their education should help ameliorate. The university-based programs of future teachers do little to prepare them for the moral responsibilities of teaching the young in a compulsory system of schooling. alternative, apprenticeship-oriented preparation programs do even less. Future teachers encounter in their preparation programs little of the human diversity now characterizing our schools and little orientation to the challenges rising out to the diversity that they will face later in schools and classrooms. The disproportionately small number of individuals from minority groups who choose to enter teacher education programs commonly encounter either segregation or repetition of the minority experience characterizing their earlier schooling.

The Center of Educational Renewal is keenly interested in the questions of who are entering teaching as a career and how candidates are being educated. My colleagues and I are puzzled by the degree to which the clamor over attracting future teachers representing the full diversity of our school population continues to be so non-productive of results. The conventional reasons do not offer an adequate explanation.

June Gordon of the Center staff has embarked on an inquiry that is partly represented in the paper that follows. The major part of her work, not presented here, seeks as its major outcome strategies for attracting into teaching cadres of individuals whose diversity reflects quite closely the diversity of our citizens. These strategies are to focus on, circumvent, and remove the barriers to entry identified in the research she has underway.

The current paper describes the problem, something of its history, and the conditions to be addressed and changed. The primary audience is comprised of college and university officials such as admissions officers and, of course, teacher educators. But the paper is not merely one more well-intentioned plea for someone to do something. The Center has incorporated into its work the requirement that all members of the National Network for Educational Renewal address the problem June Gordon describes in her paper. As she progresses with her research and increasingly focuses attention on how the problems of recruitment and retention might be ameliorated, these results will be incorporated into the teacher education reform effort in which both the Center and the National Network are now engaged. The pages that follow are designed to take stock of circumstances we need urgently to change.

John I. Goodlad, Director
Center for Educational Renewal
August 1991

FUNDAMENTAL ISSUES FOR MINORITY TEACHERS AND MULTICULTURAL TEACHER EDUCATION

> Send us a teacher who knows how to teach and one who knows us.
> Send us a teacher who knows how to teach our children to speak, read, and write English, but who does not make them ashamed of their Spanish.
> Send us a teacher who can speak to us, or at least try to communicate with us in our language.
> Send us a teacher who is sensitive to us, who knows our culture, our traditions, our values, and our history.
> Send us some teachers who are Mexican-American.
> Send us a teacher who understands our children and knows how to teach them to think, to be secure in their abilities, and to be proud of their heritage.
> Send us a teacher who respects us, one who doesn't feel he is better than we are, or believes his values are better than ours.
> Send us a teacher who respects our barrio, who does not see it as a slum or as something foreign.
> Send us a teacher who respects me. I am different from other Chicanos, even though I am one!
> Send us a teacher who cares -- before it is too late! [1]

We are all familiar with the ongoing crisis in this country which results from placing public education on the periphery of the national agenda. This crisis, which will always be with us as long as we as a society value short-term over long-term goals, is being exacerbated by the growing number of children of poverty entering the school system. What makes this crisis particularly acute are the economic factors which leave our youth with fewer resources to draw upon as an aging America disconnects from a future America to which it seems reluctant to relate.

I hope in this paper to illuminate the complex and interrelated issues of inadequate schooling for urban ethnic minority children and declining numbers of ethnic minority teachers. My fundamental suggestion involves the creation of a new type of teaching force. There are two aspects to this: diversification of the teacher force and reform of teacher education. First, the teaching force must be diversified so that it is more reflective of the new student population and potentially more responsive to the needs of students who va_ increasingly in race, class and language. We must recruit into the teaching field those individuals who have been excluded, especially minority and low-income individuals. Second, an educational program must be in place for all teachers, new and experienced, which is supportive and relevant to the demands facing the profession in urban schools. We must better educate those individuals who, while not facing the same impediments as low-income and/or minority students, are unprepared in other ways. A more rigorous and multicultural program which involves future teachers in the lives and issues of low income and minority people is essential to developing this new teaching corps. It is this interactive process of bringing together individuals of different classes, ethnic groups, and cultural/linguistic backgrounds into the teaching profession that offers the most promise for the education of this nation's youth.

Two crucial observations underlie my approach:

1. teachers, as traditionally selected and trained, are becoming less able and willing to teach students who are different from themselves, and

2. as a result, teacher "inadequacy" contributes to the low opinion that students of color have of the teaching profession and therefore makes it difficult for them to consider teaching as a career.

It is my contention that the very people who have been kept out of the teaching profession due to race, class and language differences are the ones most needed to assist in the translation and transformation of knowledge needed to make it accessible to youth. People of color, have traditionally held education in high esteem; they have the most to lose by a failing educational system, and they have what is needed to prevent that failure in cooperation with a community-wide effort at school reform.

In discussing these issues it would be helpful to clarify at the onset who it is that we are we talking about: the terminology in the areas of race and ethnicity when joined with that in the area of education has created a problematic discourse. The so-called "minorities" represent a multiethnic and multicultural diversity which now outnumbers the so-called "white" majority in American urban

schools. Ethnic and racial distinctions are being blurred and confused through intermarriage as well as resistance to the imposition of oversimplified categories which group people and cultures with little in common. For example, Hispanic or Latino have been catch-all labels for Chicanos, Mexican-Americans, Cubans, Puerto Ricans, Central Americans, South Americans, and European Spaniards. Native Americans do not see themselves as minorities at all but rather as indigenous tribal nations with separate governing bodies, languages and customs. For the African-American community, perhaps one of the most inclusive ethnic groups in this country, Sowell states,

> [In the United States] more than three-quarters of the black population have at least one white ancestor, while tens of millions of whites have at least one black ancestor -- and it is not uncommon for either blacks or whites to have a native American Indian ancestor....It is more accurately ethnicity, but is often thought of and discussed as race.[2]

Using the varied terminology provided by different sources, time periods, and professional and political communities, I will focus on three broad ethnic categories with all their complexity: African-American, Hispanic and Native American. The term minority or ethnic minority is used interchangeably with people of color in reference to these three groups. Other ethnic and racial minority groups, primarily Asian, which are significant in their number and variety within American culture have not been included in the discussion, largely because they have been excluded from the research upon which the paper is based. I have discussed the importance of including the Asian American perspective and experience as part of teacher training programs in other papers.

One further comment is in order before proceeding. This paper is concerned with the redefinition and transformation of the teaching profession. To this end I will attempt to articulate the impediments that students of color and/or students of low-income status face in their pursuit of a teaching career. Strategies are suggested which address the larger issues of economic restructuring and community attitudes as well as the specifics of teacher education reform. I have not incorporated into this paper the many valuable projects underway across the country which are working on minority teacher recruitment, preparation and support. Rather this paper will be limited to four main areas: historical context, impediments, strategies, and some concluding remarks.

OUTLINE OF THE PAPER

This paper has four major parts:
I. a brief historical review of the context for American ethnic groups' approach to schooling and teaching;
II. a discussion of impediments facing students of color in their choice of teaching as a career;
III. suggested strategies for reform of teacher education which would support an interethnic, interclass, and interlingual teaching force; and
IV. conclusions which argue for a comprehensive transformation of public school teaching and the preparation of teachers in American colleges and universities through collaboration with local communities.

I. HISTORICAL CONTEXT

In order to underscore the long-standing nature of these issues, I want to briefly consider the historical context which has brought us to the present dilemmas of 1) lowered educational attainment by poor and minority youth, and 2) a decreasing number of minority teachers. Historically, the unwillingness of white society to support the racial minority cultures in the education of their own people has brought about deprivation and unequal segregation. With integration has come a new form of separation as those who assimilate are rewarded and those that do not are differentially educated or pushed out of the system. I will first address the situation for African-Americans and then the comparable scenario which holds true for Native Americans and Mexican-Americans.

AFRICAN-AMERICAN

Within the various minority communities across this land education has traditionally been held in high esteem. Ogbu's 1974 ethnographic research with African-Americans and Mexican-Americans in California revealed that minority parents' educational expectations for their children were actually higher than those of whites.[3] Anderson, discussing this commitment to education from an historical perspective, explains how ex-slaves played a central role in the idea of public education.[4] Education took place on slave plantations long before it was legal, or profitable, for blacks to be able to read. Small "illegal schools" for blacks existed for years without being discovered.[5] These were mainly run by black women who had gained some education and secretly passed it onto fellow slaves.

Teaching became one of the few jobs available to literate blacks during the era of segregation which replaced slavery in the South. Education, however, was severely curtailed to conform to the needs of white society. Blacks in the North at this time mingled relatively freely with whites and held a variety of positions and professions. The "black bourgeoisie" who were often light-skinned as well as financially secure wanted their children educated with whites and were pro-integration in all facets of society. The black middle class, often of mixed heritage, were somewhat ostracized from elite circles and preferred that their children be educated within their own communities. It is this latter group which then formed the backbone of teachers for future black schools. Teaching as a profession became a self-perpetuating affair with certain families grooming their own to take over. These individuals had a great deal invested in teaching. The black middle class were opposed to integration believing that segregated schooling provided them with the opportunity to demonstrate to whites that people of color could provide an equal and adequate education for their own people. It further allowed them to instill values in their youth which were lacking in the white community; moreover, it insured them a professional position.

As the economic conditions of southern blacks continued to deteriorate during 1930s and 1940s so did the conditions in the segregated black schools. Unable to attract funding or assistance, a plea went out for integration of public schooling based on the hope that with white involvement would come more resources.[6] What was not anticipated was the degree to which this would affect the jobs held by black teachers and principals. When school desegregation did come, white parents did not want their children educated by black teachers. If white children were now going to be in the room they must have white teachers even if there were more black children present. Thousands of black teachers lost their jobs with integration; but, more importantly, the black community lost leaders and children lost their role models and guides. Many educated black men and women who had once served their community were now unemployed.[7] Schooling became a part of white-man's world; education was undermined, taken from the community and placed in the hands of others.

"As dual systems were dismantled," Morris explains, "Black teachers who had been needed to staff segregated schools were dismissed and demoted in large numbers."[8] This came at a time when there was a dramatic increase of black children into the school system. "In 1950, teaching accounted for nearly half of Black professional workers, compared to less than one quarter of White professionals."[9] This concentration was largely due to segregation in the South and the fewer alternative occupations open to Blacks. By the time the court and Federal actions were initiated in the late 1960's and 1970's to prevent further

displacements, the damage had already been done. From a contemporary observer,

> The current supply of Black teachers is probably larger than it would have been if much of the nation had not maintained segregated school systems. At one time, Blacks could aspire to but a few professions; teaching was one of the exceptions. As the restrictions on Black access to other professions declined, the attractiveness of teaching also declined.[10]

Traditionally, teaching in the black community remained in the hands of a relatively small middle-class. Once these individuals could move into mainstream society to use their talents, they did so leaving a shortage of teachers. The loss of these educators accentuated the gap that has existed for years between middle class and lower class blacks. It also left many urban communities with fewer positive role models. Decreasing the number of educated people in the community and the range of jobs performed by blacks in the neighborhood has the potential of limiting the career aspirations of urban youth.

NATIVE AMERICAN

Native Americans have a long tradition of educating their own children. Many "teachers" participate in the training.[11] The tribe's survival as well as the individual's is based on the success of the child's ability to comprehend and apply what he/she learns. Unable to allow Native Americans to proceed in providing an education compatible to the needs of their own people, and fearing what they did not understand, white Americans in the late 19th and early 20th centuries required that Indian children attend boarding schools in which traditional values and native languages were outlawed. Native people saw government education as an attempt to convey the knowledge of the dominant culture, usually by members of that culture, to Indian youth. Such schooling did not take into consideration the Indian way of viewing education as a means to communicate knowledge people have accumulated through the ages from one generation to the next. Reyhner clarifies,

> Historically federal policy towards Indian education has been directed at 'civilizing' and assimilating Native Americans into the mainstream of American culture. This policy, for the most part, has failed. Though more money, better facilities and appropriately trained teachers are needed, the special problem with Indian education lies in the fact that it is fundamentally different from education as it is usually defined.[12]

Similarly, the standard method of preparing teachers in colleges of education has proved inadequate for preparing teachers of Indian children. Based on a national study of Indian education, Estelle Fuchs and Robert J. Havighurst proposed that "teachers of Indian children should be systematically trained to take account of the sociocultural processes operating in the communities and 8classrooms where they work."[13] Usually teachers live apart from the children that they teach and the curriculum is alien to Indian life. Kluckhohn remarks, "Navajo culture is becoming an ugly patchwork of meaningless and unrelated pieces, whereas it was once a finely patterned mosaic." He continues,

> If the schools were actually successful in transmitting the values of the white culture to Indian students, the traditional method of training Indian teachers would perhaps be adequate even though teachers so trained would be instrumental in helping destroy unique cultural heritages. However, studies from the "Meriam Report" show that the majority of Indian children achieve poorly in public and government schools and do not learn skills that lead to employment after graduation. Indian students do not learn the underlying values of American culture. Compulsory education has been a major factor in removing the Indian from his tight knit tribal world and throwing him into an intensely individualistic one without the necessary cultural defenses to survive psychologically.[14]

What is needed are teachers who have a foot in both worlds to work out a viable cultural compromise. Indian teachers, he contends, can act as translators, interpreting and filtering the dominant culture so that it is both comprehensible and manageable to both the elders and youth of a specific tribe.

> Education is communication, and what really needs to be communicated to Indians are not the facts of white culture but the ideas that Indians can learn from whites without committing psychological or ethnic suicide. Once Indian teachers are able to incorporate the best of tribal and non-Indian values in their schools, they can change in a matter of years what otherwise might either take a matter of centuries or never take place at all.[15]

Reyhner supports this view adding,

> Cultural adaptation and change can take place if it is not forced and if there is a free interplay of ideas between cultures. Intercultural communication occurs if both sides are willing to learn from the other, to talk to persons from the other culture as equals and to use translators when necessary. Forced assimilation has been tried and has not worked.[16]

MEXICAN-AMERICAN

The historical framework for Mexican-American educational experience, while different from the African-American and Native American, is one fraught with similar misunderstanding and distrust. Legislation which provided for the integration of public schooling for Mexican-Americans came about a decade before Brown vs. Board of Education. In 1945, the courts ruled in favor of Salvaterra and Delgado from Texas and Hernandez of California that Hispanics were not Black and therefore not subject to the Plessy vs. Ferguson ruling. What is interesting about this turn of events was that the point of contention was not that segregation was illegal but that some Mexican-Americans wanted to be considered/classified as part of the white European race. The result spelled doom for those native Chicano teachers who were committed to their people and spoke their language. Once again, desegregated schools meant that the teachers in mixed classrooms would be white. Many Mexican-American teachers who had provided leadership and direction in the community found themselves outside the educational system, unemployed.

While the educational aspirations of Mexican-American parents for their children remain high, De Hoyos reveals that they are concerned about the lack of awareness on the part of white teachers of their culture and values.[17] Because of this ignorance many Mexican-American parents see schooling, in contrast to education, as something that removes their youth from the community. De La Vega's conclusions from interviews of more than forty years ago[18] are validated today in the statements by Mexican-Americans[19] which echo the fear that the more education that they receive the less they will identify with their people. This is partially due to the fact that schooling continues to demand as part of the price of professionalization the relinquishing of ethnic ties. It is the loss of this connection which paradoxically then leaves the ethnic minority on a loose footing, without support or grounding. The theme of integrity based on a strong cultural identity threatened by schooling is basic to this entire paper and must be addressed in all aspects of educational reform if communities of color are to participate wholeheartedly to everyone's benefit.

II. IMPEDIMENTS FOR STUDENTS OF COLOR ON THE PATH TO TEACHING CAREERS

As America becomes more a nation of minorities rather than a nation with minorities, concern grows as to who will educate the children. One solution felt by many to be the most effective is to have minority people educate their own youth.[20] Reasons for this response stem from the reality that thus far the educational system has not worked well for minority youth. Many teachers who have worked in the inner city public schools have been poorly selected, trained, and prepared for work in a multicultural context.[21] Educational pedagogy and curricula which have gone relatively unchallenged as the basis for the education of our youth are no longer effective.[22]

I take the position that minority teachers are the crucial source of both the competence and the numbers needed to provide an adequate education not only for the rising numbers of minority youth in our cities but for all children. By understanding more thoroughly the reasons for lack of minority participation in teacher education programs, it should be possible to implement more effective programs for access and support of those individuals who have the appropriate commitment and competence for careers in public school teaching. Based on my prior research in this area as well as a review of the literature, I have chosen to isolate for discussion three closely related factors which constitute impediments that minority students face in their potential and actual pursuit of teaching careers: schooling experiences, community attitudes, and economic limitations

SCHOOLING EXPERIENCES

This section is divided into four parts spanning a student's educational career on his or her way to becoming a teacher: K-12 schooling, higher education, teacher education, and initial professional placement.

K-12 SCHOOLING. Public schools, as conventionally established, have not prepared low income minority children for success in the K-12 environment.[23] Low expectations of teachers, tracking, lack of study skills and test-taking knowledge all contribute to the continuing story of low achievement. Doston and Bolden go so far as to claim that a large part of academic failure in schools, and therefore limited access to teaching as a profession, is due to teacher stereotypes of poor and minority students. They surmise that "Many of the Black males in prison (700,000 in prison as opposed to 400,000 enrolled in college) are there because of negative teacher attitudes which they had to face as early as pre-school."[24]

Prior school experiences are some of the most powerful influences on the ways in which individuals learn to perceive teachers and teaching. Bright poor and minority students who receive differential treatment, according to Eggleston, rebel against a system which refuses to acknowledge and educate them.[25] Their displays of desperation are often interpreted negatively and punished in the form of assignment to various forms of special education or "retention programs." The result of such a cycle of negative experiences in school not only turns off students from learning, but from ever considering teaching as a career. As one informant in a recent interview[26], when asked why students of color were not entering the teaching profession, responded "They have no desire to participate in a system in which their people always come out the losers." Still another informant claimed that "They do not want to perpetuate what was done to them."

Since schools have been one of the few social institutions that students have been required to interact, they perceive it as a microcosm of the real world. If students are underprepared and deprived of the materials and tools necessary to acquire academic skills and yet are measured by a system based on the assumption that all have had equal preparation and equal access to these materials and tools, is there any wonder that there is failure? Unfortunately, teachers are seen as the perpetrators of this inequity. As there are fewer minority teachers in this role, the injustice of the system is often transferred to white teachers. Reaction to the injustice becomes reaction to the teacher. Since many of the teachers in urban areas are student teachers on one year assignment, they internalize this reaction and find defense mechanisms to counteract the attacks until they are able to transfer out of the school. The phenomenon of revolving-door teachers reinforces the students' perception that the teacher is part of the structure, oppositional to them and unwilling to make a commitment, and furthermore, that education is not to be taken seriously. What poor or minority child would want to be a teacher if this is the model she/he has had on a rotating basis for years.

For those students who do remain throughout their high school years, tracking, both explicitly and implicitly executed, leaves many of them lacking in requisite coursework, impeding their access to college and hence to teacher education programs.[27] This is not simply a issue of race. Denise Alston, an education policy analyst with the Children's Defense Fund, exposes the class nature of tracking by stating that "Middle-class Black parents are as opposed to the dismantling [of the tracking] process as white parents if their kids are in the high tracks."[28]

For Native Americans these problems are exacerbated by the historical context in which Indian children were torn from their families to be raised in boarding schools. Fear of losing their cultural identity makes them question the

research with Native Americans revealed that high levels of classroom competition were actually negatively correlated to school achievement. He also found an avoidance of competition, when the competition appeared to be directed towards peers rather than with a standard of excellence.[34]

The emphasis at a typical university on acquiring a professional identity can leave first-generation students confused about their evolving role expectations.[35] Many experience a break with the expectations of their family, their class, and their culture; coming to college was a risk and a financial sacrifice justified in terms of what they could later do for their people or community.[36] For some, the cost is too great, for others the realization that the undergraduate degree itself will not provide the expected opportunities is devastating.[37] The persistence and economic resources required for full professional training often tax the first-generation student and betray the assumption of middle-class standing made by university faculties and professional organizations.

Minority students who do succeed and are considered to be "in the pipeline" have survived not only the tracking process of K-12 but also the screening of higher education. Those who have done both often are from middle-class families, have attended predominantly white schools, and have little reason to identify with inner city minority culture or to return there to teach.[38] The possibility that this might indeed be the case should make us pause for reflection. If the university continues to admit only those students who reflect back the traditional values of the institution, we will be no closer to solving the problems of the education of all our children. By ensuring that the majority of minority students that attend a university are already middle-class and that their "success" is dependent on their subscribing to the norms of college life, the university in effect neutralizes the potentially creative contribution of more diverse students.

TEACHER EDUCATION. It is clear that as admission requirements increase and teacher competency tests become more pervasive, fewer minority students are entering the field of education. Some refer to these "higher standards" as new and improved barriers to access for minority and first-generation students. Nevertheless, the myth prevails that the loss of minority teachers is an unfortunate side effect of the new testing laws. The myth presumes, moreover, that such a screening process will result eventually in an improved education for the students that these teachers would have taught. The NAACP in Resolutions on Education, 1961-1985, attempts to clarify this misconception, in stating,

validity of public schooling, especially if it takes the students off the reservation. Linda Pertusati argues that "Unlike blacks (who frame their discussion of education in terms of segregation/desegregation), Native Americans emphasize assimilation versus cultural preservation."[29]

King, an anthropologist, found that "Many of the people who take teaching jobs in the residential school [for Indian children] are deviant or marginal personalities, and that the isolation of the school, and its nature as a closed system, tend to create a tense interpersonal situation. The children have to adjust to this as well as to the alien character of the institution itself."[30] With role models such as these how are Indian children to aspire to teaching, as defined by public schooling, as a life work? Rather it reinforces their desire for separateness. Without their own people in the classroom to serve at least as cultural translators, low-income minority children will continue to, "leave the school without necessary basic skills, alienated from what they see as white culture, alienated from themselves, and nonrelated to their own communities. This kind of schooling creates marginal people."[31] Further reasons given in interviews for lack of interest in teaching on the part of students of color have included discouragement by teachers and counselors, negative stereotypes, and a non-inclusive curriculum.[32]

HIGHER EDUCATION. Higher education has contributed its share to the discouragement and blocking of low-income and minority group students in their pursuit of teacher certification. Ways in which higher education is seen as contributing to the problem of a diminishing multicultural teaching force include lack of outreach and hospitality, limited access, increased entrance requirements, a complicated degree and certification process, extended years of schooling, and the lack of academic, personal, and financial support. In general, predominantly white colleges and universities do not provide a hospitable learning situation for first-generation students who are also racial minorities.[33] While all first-generation students face comparable challenges at a university, minority students face even greater difficulties. We have much to learn from the historically Black colleges and universities. Due to their relatively open admissions policy they take the student from where they are academically and provide them with the necessary support systems and classes to move them through the program. Those who cannot make it, drop out; but they are not disqualified before they even begin.

Depending on the variety of skills with which the student arrives at a university, the effects of large classes, competition, minimal faculty contact, and isolation have a differential impact on students. For first-generation college students, especially if they are minorities, these can be overwhelming. Hess's

> There is no reason to assume that a system that has not concerned itself with the plight of minority students would concern itself with the plight of minority teachers. To question the test is not to question standards. We do insist on competency. Our concern is that the yardstick being used to measure competency must be fairly determined and job related so as not to impact adversely on Black teachers.[39]

Mercer, a professor at Florida A & M, calls the test "an academic electric chair" for black teachers.[40] Cooper, following this line of thinking, explores the impact that testing has had on the teacher training programs of historically Black colleges and universities. She found that from 1976 to 1981 the percentage of degrees awarded at HBCUs decreased from 32.8% to 24.8%.[41] While this cannot be attributed totally to discouragement due to testing it is significant that the failure rate on the teacher certification test ranged from 48% to 87%. Some schools such as Grambling State University have made a concerted effort with significant success to teach to the test and provide extensive tutoring to ensure that students of color pass the examination.[42] There is debate, however, as to the merit of such a focus. Some argue that if the tests are not predicting actual ability to teach and are causing great educational, social, and cultural problems, then other assessment mechanisms should be developed and implemented. Goodlad comments,

> It is tempting to assume that apparent improvement in the academic qualifications of candidates translates into a good crop of new teachers and to relax attention paid to the intellectual traits desired in good teachers. This temptation must not be succumbed to... this overall improvement encourages programs to ignore not only the students who fail the tests but also the consequences of their loss to teaching.[43]

Two Rand Corporation researchers reinforced this view by stating, "Although teacher competency tests are meant to screen out incompetent teachers, studies have not found any consistent relationship between scores on teacher competency tests and measures of performance in the classroom."[44] Rather than developing the talents of individuals who wish to become teachers, the tests discourage and screen out the very individuals most needed as cultural translators for our diverse school-age population. Instead of dealing with the issues of adequate preparation, equity, supply, and coordination, we are dissipating valuable time, energy, and money devising ways to exclude. Collins reminds us that

> Educational requirements may thus reflect the interests of whichever groups have the power to set them ... any occupation has much prestige

> to gain by attempting to raise its admission requirements.... Raised standards increase the status of people already in the job and are crucial for claiming the high status of the occupation within the community at large.[45]

Minority students who do succeed in entering a teacher training program soon discover its limitations in preparing teachers for a multiethnic classroom experience. They are discouraged from continuing when they see that the curriculum offers little, if any, coursework in multicultural education or diverse learning styles. Absent are classes which provide the tools needed to empower both student and teacher while making subject matter relevant to the daily lives of minority and low-income children. Missing is the training in how to work cooperatively and effectively within an urban school community.

Another impediment which blocks the flow of minority students into teacher education programs is the complicated process required for certification. The issue may not be that students of color are unable or unwilling to become teachers but rather than the process to do so is excessively complex and tedious. Feistritzer explains,

> It is no secret that adding more education courses, as many states have done, does not get to the heart of the problem of getting quality teachers into classrooms. Nor does requiring passage of a basic skills test insure that a teacher is competent to teach. The biggest problem in teacher education and certification may be that the process is too cumbersome and cries out for simplification.[46]

A further impediment which decreases the likelihood that first generation college students will make it into teaching is the fifth year only program. These programs are designed for postbaccalaureate students with the assumption that in one year, half of it spent in the field, students can be trained as future teachers. Besides the additional financial burden of another year of schooling there are at least two problems with this style of program. First, only those who survive the four years of undergraduate study can try their hand at teaching. Second, the student who enters college with the desire to be a teacher will often lose that interest along the way if they do not have some contact with other future teachers and/or practicing teachers who can reinforce their values and commitment.

INITIAL PROFESSIONAL PLACEMENT. Another area in which there is loss of potential teachers is in their initial placement. This is particularly true for those students who have not had sufficient exposure to the ecology of the

school. Given the evolving ethnic composition of our nation's classrooms it is unconscionable that we continue to train teachers in ways that avoid if not deny such demographic changes. While it is common knowledge that one-third of all school age children will soon be non-white,[47] we continue to send teachers into the field who have no experience with students of color, no knowledge of the multivaried cultures that exist within this nation, and no developmental tools to assess and assist students who are different from themselves.

First year teachers cannot be expected to function in schools dissimilar to the ones in which they have been trained. Sending a teacher into a classroom without support and little knowledge of the students she will teach is likely to be disastrous for all concerned. The consequences of such lack of foresight are revealed in a survey of teachers done by Rosenfield. He records,

> The students in this classroom did not have any reason to fear their pupils, but they were ignorant about them. Their preparatory work in college or in teacher training had not prepared them for a classroom of children from a poor ghetto area in the city. The student teacher knew nothing about the neighborhood from which the children in her class came. She knew only that she 'did not want to work with 'these' children when she became a regular teacher.'[48]

COMMUNITY ATTITUDES

On a community level, racism, racelessness, peer group pressure, and community distrust of education appear to be the most significant barriers to selecting teaching as a career. In fact, Comer sees the failure to bridge the social and cultural gap between home and school as the root of poor academic performance for many low-income minority children.[49] Cuban supports this contention in stating that

> Children often fail because the culture of the school ignores or degrades their family and community backgrounds. Middle-class teachers, reflecting the school's values, single out for criticism differences in children's behavior and values; they crush the self-esteem of students and neglect the strengths that these students bring to school.[50]

Parents who find their children torn between the culture of school and the culture of home are not inclined to lose their children totally to the "other side," nor to have them participate in the reproduction of that schism in the role of teacher. Grant and Secada remind us that

> Some urban students lead lives that make their experiences outside the school more immediately exciting and more financially and socially rewarding than the school curriculum. Others lead lives of such poverty and social disorder that it is difficult for them to concentrate on the school curriculum at all. The new public philosophy (equity and excellence) is silent on these points. Since the school is the first social institution that urban students deal with on a regular basis, this silence leads them to believe that they are not held in high regard.[51]

Nevertheless, according to interviews of young teens done by Fordham, "Both male and female students ... believe that school and schooling are the primary means of achieving vertical mobility for Black Americans in the existing social system."[52] Their means of doing so, however, require that they move into a position of "racelessness" in which they perceive a need to reject their cultural values. Avoidance of racelessness, as defined by Fordham, can similarly turn into a form of oppositional behavior for those individuals who refuse to apply themselves in school for fear that success will be interpreted as losing their racial identity and "becoming white."[53] While peer influence is seen as a secondary influence on career choice it is a primary influence on school performance. Black students are therefore torn between academic success which leads to ostracism by peers and failure which is sanctioned as rebellion against the values of the dominant culture.[54] "Consciously or unconsciously," Ogbu reminds us,

> they do not appear to make a clear distinction between what they learn or do to enhance their school success, such as learning and using standard English and the standard behavior practices of the school, and linear acculturation or assimilation into a white American cultural frame of reference, i.e., the cultural frame of reference of their white 'oppressors.'[55]

The assumption is that minority cultures, especially if they are involuntary immigrants, must fight against their own culture to be successful in school. For those who attempt to walk the line it is necessary for them to camouflage their behavior so that they will be perceived as discrediting academics while succeeding.

While these behaviors and attitudes are commonly attributed to black youth, the phenomenon is pervasive throughout the black community. Ogbu speaks of it as "cultural inversion:"

> In the present context this term has two meanings. Broadly speaking, it refers to the various culturally approved ways that black Americans

> express their opposition to white Americans. It also refers to specific forms of behavior, specific events, symbols, and meanings that blacks regard as inappropriate for themselves because they are characteristic of white Americans ... what is or is not appropriate for blacks is emotionally charged because it is intimately bound up with their sense of collective identity, self-worth, and security ... those who try to 'cross cultural boundaries' in forbidden domains, may face opposition from other blacks. Their behaviors tend to be interpreted not only as 'acting white' but also as betraying black people and their cause, as 'trying to join the enemy.'[56]

Ogbu further sees these various oppositional behavior patterns partially as the result of the internalization of oppression. He explains how reactions to oppression are so internalized that even in the absence of instrumental and expressive barriers, some blacks refuse to take advantage of the opportunities for fear of being considered "white." Research done by DeVos corroborates these assumptions. He found that avoidance was due to the uncertainty of being "accepted by whites even if they learned to 'act white' and were rejected by their black peers."[57] One result of this is what DeVos calls "affective dissonance," a level of discomfort and confusion which undermines self-worth and impedes development and change.

ECONOMIC LIMITATIONS

Amidst the wealth of America it is startling to find poverty on the increase and those who were once part of the working class moving onto the welfare rolls. According to the Committee for Economic Development's latest report, The Unfinished Agenda, "between 1970 and 1987, the [overall] poverty rate for children increased nearly 33 percent. In 1989, close to 25 percent of children under the age of six lived in poverty."[58] "When multiple risk factors, such as poverty, family structure and race are taken into account, as many as 40 percent of all children may be considered disadvantaged." Moll, when breaking the statistics into ethnic groups, reveals that for Latino children under the age of six, 41% live in poverty, as do 46% of all black children.[59] This is not a level playing field. To begin life with so many strikes against you is to see existence as survival of self. The road from here to academic success and ultimately to a teaching career is a long and highly uncertain journey.

Ogbu argues that the social programs and legislation intended to open access to African-Americans have largely benefitted middle-class individuals, especially those with college education.[60] The employment status of those

without a college education remains unchanged. In fact, as David Howell, an Assistant Professor of Management at the New School for Social Research, points out, the situation has grown worse.

> In 1970, 81 percent of black men without a high-school diploma were employed; by 1985, that figure had dropped to 53 percent. ... nearly one in six black men 25 to 54 years old in the mid 1980's had no job income. In 1979 most black men with the least schooling held jobs in low-skill but relatively high paying occupations, such as brick masons, machine operators, or mechanics. Over the next 10 years, however, jobs in those categories grew only slightly or declined sharply, while jobs in the lowest-skilled, lowest-paying jobs grew. In contrast, over the same 10 years, he found that the occupations in which most white women were concentrated during 1979 -- such as secretaries, teachers, and nurses -- showed the highest gains in earnings and job growth.

Mr. Howell concluded that changes in the earnings and educational requirements of jobs during the 1980's had a particularly devastating effect on young black men as the share of these workers employed in the best-paying low-skill jobs fell from 16.8 percent to 2.3 percent.[61]

With these statistics in mind, it is difficult to continue to say that it is the low pay and prestige or the wealth of available options that is preventing minorities, at least black males, from entering the field of teaching. The problems are far more complex; they are embedded in the assumptions of our educational system, which is a reflection of the socio-economic realities of a society that is motivated by profit rather than equity. Willie speaks to the point when commenting,

> ... poverty in a capitalistic society is a problem of equity. The solution requires modification in earning opportunities or consumption privileges -- in short, some form of income redistribution or transfer.... The Moynihan report missed the mark on two counts: first, it focuses on a group as the basic unit of analysis when the problem required an institutional response; and second, he directed attention toward the wrong institution, the kinship system rather than the economy.[62]

Part of the problem lies in the inability of the dominant culture to come to terms with the educational needs of the subordinate culture. Ogbu's research in Stockton found that "involuntary immigrant" minority group members not only valued education but insisted that they needed higher education. What is important, however, is that they defined this as, "preparation for employment i7n

good jobs."[63] Beyond this they felt, "that they should be given the opportunity to get such good jobs with good wages when they achieve good educations." Colson discusses this paradox in relation to school children, "Parents want their children to learn skills. The schools want to reform the children. The children look around them and see little hope that the school work required of them will lead anywhere. School is likely to be classed by them with dead-end jobs and, like such jobs, felt to be unworthy of serious effort." There is an obvious "... discrepancy between what they believe they should receive from society and what society actually gives to them."[64]

Despite these findings the two most common reasons given for the decline of teachers in general, and extended to minority group members, are 1) low pay, and 2) other career opportunities.[65] I prefer the view, supported by preliminary interviews and literature produced by a minority of authors, that these are not the real reasons behind the shortage of teachers of color in our classrooms today.[66] If we accept the rationale that minority students are not selecting teaching as a career due to low pay, prestige, and more opportunities, are we not supporting a form of "blame the victim" mentality? This diagnosis presumes that the problem is centered in the student of color. She/he doesn't want to be a teacher because she wants more money, status, and could choose from an array of job options. It does not touch the issue of institutional or societal responsibility in the preparation of future teachers.

The issues are indeed complex and cannot be simplified in terms of "minority recruitment of teachers." Goodlad brings an edge to this discussion,

> Why would a student with a lifetime of experience as a member of a minority group want to extend that experience into a teacher education program dominated by the white majority? Going to college with many peers of the same race or ethnic group presented them only with the same kinds of academic problems faced by white students. Going to college or through a program dominated by white students by a ratio of fifteen or twenty to one, however, added a burden they already knew a great deal about and preferred not to perpetuate. Besides why teach in a school system designed to advance the white race and seeking minority teachers primarily in order to blunt the charge of racism?[67]

III. STRATEGIES FOR ENHANCING MINORITY PARTICIPATION IN TEACHER EDUCATION

The complexity of variables facing low-income and and minority students in their pursuit of academic success and teaching as a career may appear overwhelming, but this is largely due to the fact that these individuals have been excluded from participation in the educational decision-making process. These are the very people who can interpret and unravel the apparent puzzle. Willie comments,

> The poor and disadvantaged have some ideas of their own about what they would like to get out of formal education. Manipulation of their children's IQ may not be their highest priority. Learning how to endure, and how to develop a positive concept of self, and how to gain a measure of control over one's environment, probably are as important to the poor as gains in IQ.[68]

Through the creation of a more diverse teaching corps, people are involved from sectors of society heretofore ignored. Minority community involvement in education and their respect for the teaching profession increase once they are viewed as part of the solution rather than part of "the problem." Economic options open as educational positions are offered to these individuals, and education, once again, becomes a viable road out of poverty. By enlarging the pool of educated youth, not only do we increase the number of potential teachers from all classes, races, and language backgrounds, but we also increase the demand for economic and societal change which will transform communities and schools into safe, productive areas in which to live and work. But it has to begin somewhere. While some of these issues may appear beyond the realm of influence for most, I offer some general thoughts on economic restructuring and community initiative before moving to specific strategies for educational reform that could take us beyond the present stalemate. It is hoped that through intervention at an educational level, with which we, as educators, are most familiar, our efforts will impact some of the larger economic and societal issues that have been discussed.

In the following section, I suggest strategies which respond to the impediments mentioned in the previous section, although in reverse order: economic restructuring, community attitudes, and schooling. The last section, schooling; is divided further into seven areas of educational reform.

ECONOMIC RESTRUCTURING

> The task of producing more and higher-quality minority teachers is identical with that of improving the social and economic status of minority families and improving education for minority children. Programs that upgrade schools, aid families in raising their children, or give students special help have an important role to play.[69]

It is imperative that we acknowledge the interplay between economics and education. The impediments that a person of low-income and/or minority status must confront prior to consideration of teaching as a career are formidable. Attitudes which either blame the student, the family, or the community are merely coverups for an unwillingness to deal with the real issue of economic restructuring whereby the priorities of this nation are put under severe scrutiny. Doston and Bolden bring this into perspective stating, "In 1973, 55 percent of Black males earned enough to help support a family. By 1984 this figure was down to 23 percent. AIDS, drugs and homicide have sent death rates for Black men between the ages of 15 and 44 soaring."[70] At present America spends less on education than thirteen other major industrialized nations.[71] A country cannot continue to build up a military complex while waging war on its own people.

COMMUNITY INVOLVEMENT

Community attitudes and cultural values affect academic achievement which in turn affects access to higher education which affects entrance into teacher education which determines who will become a teacher. If minority youth are to come to see teaching as a viable alternative career, the perception that to be academically successful is to deny one's race needs to be addressed. This effort, however, must be in conjunction with major economic, institutional, and cultural changes as well as the development of trusting relationships between the community and schools. Willie reminds us that

> Teachers of the poor rarely live in the community where they work and sometimes have little sympathy for the lifestyles of their students. Moreover, the growth and complexity of the administration of large urban school systems has compromised the accountability of the local schools to the communities which they serve, and reduced the ability of parents to influence decisions affecting the education of their children. Ghetto schools often appear to be unresponsive to the community, communication has broken down, and parents are distrustful of officials responsible for

> formulating educational policy. The consequences for the education of students attending these schools are serious. Parental hostility to the schools is reflected in the attitudes of their children. Since the needs and concerns of the ghetto community are rarely reflected in educational policy formulated on a citywide basis, the schools are often seen by ghetto youth as being irrelevant....[72]

Parents, adult kin, teachers, ministers and community professionals are all potential sources of influence on minority youth regarding their future career choices.[73] Hilliard calls upon the minority community to

> Take the initiative in setting educational goals and in providing models for children's behavior, monitoring the progress of the masses of black children, providing activities that express the community's beliefs about legitimacy, and offering fiscal support for the socialization and educational process.[74]

According to Ogbu, for academic success to occur for the majority of blacks, the barriers to equal access must be removed and students need to adopt a more pragmatic attitude toward schooling. He calls on the black community to assist in this process by helping "children differentiate the attitudes and behaviors that enhance academic success from the attitudes and behaviors that result in loss of black culture and identity."[75] He asks that they help black children "channel their time and efforts from nonacademic into academic activities." While much of his research demonstrates that blacks have very high educational expectations for their children, this is undercut by the folk theory which presumes effort will not produce reward. Ogbu therefore asks the black community "to sanction, rather than merely verbalize, their wishes for appropriate academic attitudes and persevering effort as culturally rewarded phenomena."

SCHOOLING

Teacher education is a crucial element in the transformation of the relationship of education to its cultural context. What follows are some of the ways that teacher education can assist in selecting and preparing teachers with the knowledge, skills, and understanding to work with students from diverse backgrounds. These suggestions can be divided into seven general areas.

1. Who is selected: we need to include as teacher candidates those whose experiences (class and race and language) more closely approximate those of the school-age population;

2. How are they to be selected;
3. Curriculum: the education and training of future teachers which prepare them for work in multicultural schools and in our global society;
4. The placement of a diverse cohort of teachers into a variety of educational settings and professional development schools;
5. Inservice: on-going training which provides teachers with the time for reflection, sharing, and acquisition of new knowledge;
6. Administrative changes; and,
7. Professional development: we need to educate and enlighten university and college faculties to the present time realities of classroom teaching in the public schools.

WHO IS SELECTED: A RATIONALE FOR AN INTERRACIAL/INTERCLASS/INTERLINGUAL TEACHING FORCE.

The multicultural context in which teachers work strongly recommends that those who are selected to teach reflect that diversity. However, what I am suggesting in the following section is that a multicultural transformation of the teaching profession be based on the selection of teachers who, in their teaching, constructively relate to a diversity of students and cultures; that is, minority status is not itself a sufficient qualification. Thus, providing the needed supply of adequately prepared teachers is not as simple as many people would like to believe. The hiring of minority teachers in and of itself will not meet the need for newly defined teaching. First, there are not enough minority college graduates to fill the needed vacancies even if every one of these graduates opted to go into teaching.[76] Second, it is naive to assume that minority students who are admitted and graduate from four-year institutions of higher education would want to teach in an urban school, which is where educational planners often expect them to teach.[77] Third, there is no evidence that the majority of minority students who attend university are from urban (that is poor and working class) communities themselves. As Orebaugh observed more than twenty years ago, "[for many middle-class Blacks] the ghetto is as foreign to them as it is to a member of the white middle-class."[78] Research done by Jules Henry and Philip Jackson demonstrated how this is not a racial issue. While they found that most white, female teachers are not interested in teaching in an urban situation and would flee if given the chance, "culture shock and low self-esteem from working in an urban school can also be experienced by minority teachers, whose life experiences more closely approximate those of the white middle class."[79]

Apart from the issue of whether enough minority students will become teachers, the assumption that an individual from one minority group can relate better to the issues of another minority group does not hold true in all situations. This is further complicated when we begin to presume cross-race as well as within-race compatibility and consensus.[80] There is neither any reason to believe that a Latino teacher is better equipped to teach an Asian child, nor that an African American can teach a Native American child simply because they possess "minority status" as defined by the dominant culture. One might also ask how does having minorities teach their own people alter the present system. By relegating minorities to areas where whites are not willing to go to teach, the "problem" is skirted, if not avoided; internal change has not taken place. It is along these lines that one must question the conditions being placed on minority teacher candidates which offer loan guarantees if they work in the inner city or with low-income students. While this financial assistance is well-intentioned and perhaps necessary at this time in our society, there must come a point when quality K-12 education for all provides us with a multicultural, multilingual pool of educated and concerned citizens who will naturally select teaching as a profession and willingly work with all students. This will not become a reality until the conditions of schools themselves have changed and the economic priorities of this country are rectified so that all teachers are trained to work with all children.

What is needed are individuals, regardless of race or ethnicity, who are willing and able to work with students from all walks of life. Metz found in her study that the best teachers proved to be those who "were similar enough to the students to be able to empathize with them and communicate effectively with them, but also had a different understanding of the academic work, toward which they could lead the students."[81] The issue, she affirms, is not to match teachers with students along racial or class lines but rather to identify and support those individuals who possess the qualities necessary for effective teaching.

Collins posits an interesting argument along these same lines stating, "Education will be most important when the fit is greatest between the culture of the status groups emerging from schools, and the status group doing the hiring."[82] When this is applied to teacher education what we have potentially is "class" conflict on several levels. One is the changing composition of the traditional classroom. As the non-white population increases so does the percentage of potential teachers of color. Traditionally those who have done the "hiring" have been white and middle-class. If these mainstream individuals are not given the training, insight, and awareness of the need to expand the pool of teachers to include people from all ethnic and class backgrounds we may end up

with groups competing for control of the educational system. This is already manifesting itself in the rise of African-American Academies, Native American schools, and the call for a voucher system. Rothbart alludes to this competition in terms of, "a conflict between low-status students demanding upward mobility and a system unable to fully respond to their aspirations because it is too narrow at the top. ... [It is an] expression not only of an academic conflict, but also of a submerged class conflict." [83] Having a more interracial, interclass, interlingual teaching force would alleviate some of the potential for conflict and misunderstanding.

Willie, seeing diversity as a self correcting agent, warns us against limiting access to those who participate in the decision-making process. He claims that "... the possibility of error is increased when the advice of only one expert is sought."[84] Examples of this phenomenon continue to surface around the issue of discipline in urban schools. Metz found in her research that white middle-class teachers interpreted certain actions by minority children as disciplinary problems far more frequently than minority teachers who saw the actions as performing or showing off.[85] Such misinterpretation of behavior can relegate a child to a lifetime of "special education."

Still, the advantages of having teachers from low-income backgrounds and/or who are ethnic minority individuals have not been recognized by the wider society. Silver's research revealed that lower class minority teachers were more likely to remain in teaching than middle class or upper class minority teachers. Teachers from lower-class origins were more likely to be committed to education than were those from middle-class origins; the latter were "more interested in retiring or becoming housewives." This may indicate a pattern, she contends, by which minority individuals, once having attained middle-class status, "adopt the career patterns, values, and life-styles of the white middle-class."[86]

Robinson's research supports these findings despite the fact that low-income teachers are more likely to be assigned to low-income schools. It will come of no surprise to most observers to further learn that "When the social class background of teachers is compared across schools the proportion of those from working-class homes declines as the social status of the school increases."[87] Nevertheless, when these individuals were interviewed, they indicated a willingness to stay at these schools and work with "at-risk" students. A quick and naive response is that they have fewer options open to them. While this is true, there are reasons which go much deeper -- issues of status, respect, and empathy for the conditions from which the students come. Recognition as a constructive citizen is accorded to the minority teacher in the minority community. Power as a community professional and leader is accompanied by access to knowledge, in

general, and about the families of students and the community, in particular. According to Adair, "Black teachers view themselves as ethnically responsible for preparing black youth for leadership in the enhancement of the quality of life for black people."[88] Wayson found that teachers in lower income urban schools, "Frequently perceived their students as warm, affectionate, and appreciative and that they enjoyed intimate expressions of personal esteem from their pupils."[89] Silver concluded from her interviews that teaching income was not one of the most important factors in job satisfaction. She notes that "Peer relations and participation in running the schools were more important in affecting teachers' desire to remain teachers."[90]

Minority teachers serve as surrogate parent figures, counselors, disciplinarians, and career models. The need for economic well-being and community recognition common to all working class individuals are joined by the needs of the ethnic community for indigenous leadership and cultural continuity. In addition to providing knowledge within the classroom, teachers who are representative of a wider variety of cultural and economic backgrounds can operate as liaisons with the community. They become "cultural translators" and trainers for middle class non-minority teachers and educators in general. They understand the kids, can speak their language, can relate to their frustration, and yet can provide a bridge to their future. Having people work in this capacity might be the essence to unlocking the apparent mystery as to why many low income and minority children do not get hooked into education.

The recruitment and training of a multicultural teaching force does not mean that minority teachers would only work with minority children or that minority children should only have minority teachers. The need for minority teachers goes beyond their participation in their own communities, educating their own people. The need is great in largely white communities to have interaction with, and be educated by, minority teachers.[91] What is encouraged is crossover and interaction. Teachers of different backgrounds need to be viewed as resources for each other, not tokens. Children of all types need to see teachers working together to resolve issues. Beyond this, the presence of a multiracial staff facilitates the integration process by dispelling myths of racial inferiority and incompetence.[92]

The reality, however, is that most minority teachers are still expected to teach in minority communities. One reason for this is that fewer and fewer whites are willing or able to teach in urban settings where the majority of the minority population resides.[93] A further reason is that many white parents still have concern about their children being taught by minority teachers even though whites have taught minorities for years.[94] A third reason states that until the economic

gap between majority and minority populations is narrowed, and there is a greater understanding of the needs of minority children, education by the majority is damaging to the academic and personal growth of minority students.[95] These reasons support the need for a broad program of social and educational reform within which specific goals for minority achievement and an increase in the number of minority teachers can be reached.

HOW TO SELECT: CRITERIA FOR SELECTION OF A DIVERSE TEACHING FORCE.

What seems to be crucial here is that the cultural role of teachers needs to be radically redefined. This includes a reassessment of the capabilities needed, the training provided and the socialization model of initial employment. For teachers to be effective, a different set of qualities, skills, and attitudes are necessary. They will be required to have familiarity with other cultures, to have experience in low income areas, to have worked with children in nonschool settings, and to be able to speak another language, in addition to knowledge of subject matter and pedagogical skills. An effective teacher will have to be able to work with the community, with volunteers, and with social service agencies, as well as those within their building while being committed to adapting schools to the needs of students. As Montero-Sieburth says, they will need to be "culturally sensitive and sensible" as well as skills-oriented and subject matter knowledgeable.[96] At present the teachers of our nation's children sorely lack these qualities.

Criteria of selection can, however, be articulated based on the actual characteristics needed for a competent and capable teacher. "Our failure", Goodlad reminds us,

> is one of omission; it is easier to use standardized tests of achievement or intellect than to look at the whole person. We should proceed experimentally. After reading the experiential and goal statements of a group of applicants and then interviewing those applicants, the responsible faculty members would reject only those about whom there is complete negative agreement. Every possible effort would be made subsequently to bring all those admitted up to a standard of quality. Initial judgments would then be juxtaposed against the relative success of students in the program.[97]

Traditional indicators such as GPA and test scores are no longer adequate as measurements for our teachers of tomorrow and there is sufficient evidence that they have not served us well in the past. The qualifications for the profession cannot be assessed through such limited means.

If the university continues to select future teachers solely on high GPA and examinations, there is a good chance that not only will the numbers continue to decrease but the quality of the individuals needed in the field will be radically different from those the university will admit to its corridors. Willie comments,

> Individuals may aspire to be excellent, but society and its institutions have the right to require only that its members be adequate. The requirement of excellence can contribute to the exclusion of some individuals who can perform in an adequate way to make a real contribution to the welfare of others.[98]

Education, still under the spell of social Darwinism, clings to the myths that the brightest are the best, that those who survive have done so on their own, and that they who do survive are fit, morally and wisely, to lead and dictate to others the course of their lives. It is interesting to note that while "...teaching has conventionally attracted 7% of the individuals from the top ability quintile of college graduates and 13% from the second quintile, ... 85% of those recruited from the topmost quintile leave teaching after relatively brief careers."[99] These are not the students that we should be investing in for our future teachers; they do not yield a high return.

The results of a survey done by Johnson and Prom-Jackson indicate that the most effective teachers were those who were able to respond to the affective as well as cognitive needs of their students.

> It appears that while talented students are strongly influenced toward academic growth and development during their school years, the way in which this happens, according to the perceptions of respondents, is through the interpersonal skills and affective characteristics of good teachers. According to these findings, students recall their academic growth taking place in a nurturant, interpersonally intensive setting which also fostered their own personal growth and emerging sense of self. These conditions appear to accompany, and perhaps to be necessary for, memorable academic and personal growth.[100]

These authors contend that to become an outstanding facilitator of learning is at least as important as the appraisal of academic achievement among potential teachers. Neither can be neglected, but they argue that it is more difficult to

teach the interpersonal skills necessary than it is to teach subject-matter competence; an important issue when developing criteria for selection. These skills or characteristics include: enthusiasm, quality of speech and voice, sense of humor, congeniality of adjustment to associates, health, physical appearance and poise, neatness of work and classroom, and integrity of character. Beyond this, teachers need to know how to motivate children to learn; they must be flexible and yet dedicated, when one route appears blocked they are willing to try another. They must care deeply about students' learning and all that happens to them. The authors claim that none of these assets is assessed by the NTE yet no one is really an excellent teacher without them. Paradoxically, it is probably much easier to develop the conventionally measured competencies in individuals of average ability who have these "unmeasurables" than the opposite would be. Supporting this view, Tyler suggests,

> The best way to recruit good teachers is to find kids in high school who really care about children and who want to help other people to learn. GPA's and other scores are not as relevant as is the quality of caring. In fact, when people show that they really want to work with kids, it is easier to give them the information and knowledge that they need to succeed. I would start by finding those who care, and then helping them to handle the problems and acquire the skills needed to teach.[101]

If we are talking about creating a more qualified teaching force who are better prepared to teach our children then would it not be more logical to have standards that more closely approximate the needs of the classroom? Bell warns that the conventional answer would be "no", as a more open and democratic admission's policy "... would destroy the close articulation between the meritocracy and the system of higher education; further, by the very act of abolishing hierarchy in admissions, it would cast doubt on hierarchy in the larger society."[102] He sees the sole use of such standards as a means to keep those who pose a threat to the hegemonic ideology out of the competition for higher education, greater rewards, and, finally, employment opportunities. His argument runs that teachers are in fact not selected on the basis of ability and effort, but rather on the basis of their compatibility of behavior, attitude, and class background with the dominant class. If this is the case we are no closer to resolving the problem of educating our citizenry than we were fifty years ago.

It is interesting to note, however, that perceived teacher shortages are usually accompanied by both higher salaries and higher legislated standards for entry into the profession.[103] Nevertheless, when actual hiring takes place in the local school districts these standards are often compromised. A 1986 AACTE

report revealed that while two-thirds of the states had raised legal standards for teacher training and certification, half of these states allowed the hiring of teachers who did not meet the new requirements.[104] The shortages are not in the suburbs but in our urban centers where the preponderance of low-income and minority people reside. Yet these are the very people who are being denied access to colleges and teacher education programs.

One strategy to counter this movement is to provide non-elitist professional education in teacher training programs which would shift the focus away from high entrance requirements to high exit qualifications. To do so, distinctions need to be made, however, between qualities desired in candidates at the outset and those to be developed subsequently. Assessment under these conditions would be used as a means of diagnosis for the student. Once an understanding is arrived at regarding the students' areas of strengths and weaknesses, remediation would take place in those subjects which are not sufficiently developed.

Coursework needed in such a rigorous teacher education program would incorporate general liberal arts courses. It would also require a unique commitment from the faculty, both in the College of Education and the Arts and Sciences, that they be held equally accountable for the students' learning of the material and the experiences necessary to pass the exit requirements. Comer reminds us,

> [We] must recognize that students' social development is as important to society as their academic ability. [we] must select, certify and reward teachers and administrators who are skilled in nurturing the development of students. [we] must evaluate schools by their ability not only to produce high test scores but also to prepare students to assume adult responsibilities.[105]

Ironically, the connection does not seem to have been made yet in most peoples' minds between the lack of attention paid to K-12 education and the shortage of teachers of color. By placing the most effective teachers in our classrooms we could guarantee that the pool of potential teachers would increase. To do this, however, we must relinquish the rhetoric of "the brightest and the best"; we must expose the consequences of focusing on the top ten percent while willingly side-stepping issues of equity. It is time that we acknowledged the futility of competing for the all-too-few "successful" students of color until our schools are turned around to become safe, productive and rewarding places in which students can learn and be successful.

CURRICULA WHICH INTRODUCE AND PREPARE FOR THE MULTICULTURAL CLASSROOM.

Living in a pluralistic society requires that teacher education coursework be reflective of this reality. Teachers need the skills and knowledge to function effectively within a multicultural context. If future teachers are not being taught from this perspective in their training programs, how can we expect them to gain the facility, not to mention the understanding, to teach from this stance in their classrooms? Our success as a nation is attributed to the contributions and sacrifices of many peoples from many lands. Their contributions must be taught to all children in order for mutual respect to be sustained. A curriculum which prepares teachers to work in a multicultural world is multifaceted, connecting theory with practice. It is also one that provides sufficient depth and breadth of knowledge to participate in the human conversation. Goodlad extends the list to include a commitment to American democracy, pedagogical skills to bridge between the knower and the known, and a commitment to the stewardship of schools, ongoing renewal and continuous change.[106]

Comer believes that many of the "discipline problems" that teachers complain of have been mislabeled. He sees them rather as behavioral problems resulting "mainly from unmet needs rather than from willful badness....and that actions can be taken to meet these needs."[107] Nevertheless many teachers continue to attribute the high attrition rate of first and second year teachers to their inability to manage a classroom.

Courses in psychology, health, sociology, criminology, and urban anthropology would assist teachers in gaining a broader range of perspectives from which to view classroom dynamics. Grounding in these disciplines would also provide introduce future teachers to other professions which are grappling with similar issues. Additionally, Montero-Sieburth maintains that teachers be equipped with social work knowledge which including remedial and intervention strategies, drop-out prevention techniques, counseling skills, and assessment methods for at-risk students with diverse value orientations.[108]

Absent from most teacher education programs, according to interviews with current teachers, are needed courses in collaboration, conflict and mediation.[109] This work would include group training with other teachers focusing on team teaching, coordinated studies, collaborative planning, goal setting, and coalition building.[110] It also requires work in the community with parents, social workers, teacher aides, community agencies and student teachers.

Political naivete is dangerous and unwarranted in any teacher. Classes are necessary which introduce the teacher to the socioeconomic realities of power and

poverty as well as the social construction of racism and sexism.[111] Discussions are needed which get into the future teacher's assumptions and prejudices about low-income and ethnic minority students.[112] Explicit examples of racist, elitist, and sexist behavior and language are important in order for teachers to see how their actions and words are detrimental to the academic success of their students.[113] Through video tapes, skits and guest speakers, teachers can begin to gain awareness and take responsibility for the potential damage that can result from unwarranted prejudices.

Coursework in pedagogy needs more attention if students are ever to get "hooked" into learning. "Teaching is an interactive endeavor," Metz reminds us, "it requires making connection with students. If their attitudes and skills vary substantially, so must the content and style of teachers' work with them."[114] Familiarity with different learning styles is essential when working with students from various cultural and ethnic traditions. One way to facilitate this type of training would be through a reflective seminar each quarter in which students teach mini-sessions of the classes that they are taking in their liberal arts program. This would serve many purposes: 1) students would have to gain mastery of the material in order to teach it; 2) they could discuss how the content would need to be transformed in order for it to be relevant and interesting to a diverse public school population at different grade levels; 3) they could research ways to make the material more multicultural; and 4) they would get feedback on their teaching style. By having other students and faculty critique their work throughout their undergraduate program, they would gain facility in collaborative learning which would prepare them for future team teaching, peer evaluation, and group decision making.

INTERNSHIPS AND INITIAL PLACEMENT.

In addition to changes in the curriculum, it is imperative that we reevaluate the usefulness of placing future teachers with single cooperating teachers within a self-enclosed classroom for their entire field experience.[115] Rather, multiethnic cohort groups need to work together with a multiethnic team of teachers in multiethnic schools. Teacher education students need to have interactive multicultural experiences, not only in classes but in their placements by working side by side critiquing and sharing their experiences and observations. Shields contends that

> Cultural comfort comes about through natural interaction with people from other backgrounds and ethnicity, in professional as well as in informal

> settings. It is familiarity that provides the context for understanding differences among cultures and enhances the ability to respond to people -- in this case learners -- as individuals, unique and capable. Such participation tends also to dispel myths and other negative beliefs about groups and instead fosters willingness to engage (teach in inner-city schools) and participate (counsel children and parents), and thereby improve the quality of educational opportunity in all communities.[116]

Professional development schools, which have been identified as having a quality group of teachers and administrators who are interested and willing to work with future teachers, would be the natural home for such work to take place. By having a team of teachers from the P.D.S working with a cohort group of student teachers, the students learn the workings of the entire school; they attend faculty meetings; they become involved with students and with the community. It is essential, however, that student teachers would also be expected to observe and participate in other schools in the area, particularly urban schools, if these are not included as a P.D.S. Urban teachers need to be brought into the training process of future teachers to share their perspectives. Until recently, Montero-Sieburth points out the practical and implicit knowledge that these individuals have gained "has been regarded as inferior to the more theoretical knowledge of outside, mainstream researchers; thus urban teachers tend not to use or trust the knowledge that they have gained from experience." [117]

A way to tap this knowledge and remove a level of cultural ignorance that many teacher education students have is to provide a live-in neighborhood education program. A Latino man commented, "I think in order for a teacher to teach in the barrio, he's going to have to be trained how to teach and know our problems. You have got to know how we live, and be sensitive to us. Teachers have to feel some of the hurt of the pain in the barrio. They've got to get personally involved."[118] A black parent echoed a similar 8view, "I believe that instead of busing the children, the teachers should be rotated to different schools."[119] Another perceptive respondent inquired, "Why should it be they and not the teachers and other... who learn an alien culture to cross the communication barrier? Teachers should live in the community for a week or two."

It is clear from these comments that parents are concerned about the lack of involvement of teachers in the lives of their students. Low-income parents need to be understood and connected to the education of their youth. Teachers and would-be teachers must learn something about the neighborhood and homes of their students. By seeing teachers as distant and uninformed about their

community and culture, parents view school as something that one is sent to, that is alien, that will change you if you get too much of it. This is seen as particularly important for those minority groups who feel that their children are being misunderstood and dismissed from mainstream education. Willie discusses the importance of such a cross-cultural experience stating,

> Being in control is something of value. But learning how to depend on others, to trust others, or to receive and accept assistance when needed, is something of value too ....It is well that in school whites should learn not to fear the consequences of minority status; and blacks should learn to be comfortable with the responsibilities and requirements of majority status. Such would be effective education for life in a pluralistic society.[120]

INSERVICE TRAINING.

Students entering the profession need to know that they will not be abandoned once they leave the college corridors. Rather it is important that they see themselves as part of a team effort within the school and ultimately within the much larger scope of the profession itself. Every new teacher entering the field should have the assurance that he or she will not only be mentored for the first two years but also that new information will be available and that their concerns and ideas will have a support group within which to be shared. In our ever evolving multicultural world, it is essential that teachers be guaranteed access to new information and resources in the form of in-service training. Teacher education programs and colleges of education need to come to view themselves as resource centers for the ongoing support and education of teachers in the field.

One way to provide this support is through study groups that meet in the school during school hours. The purpose is at least four-fold: 1) to be informed of new content material available, especially as it relates to urban students (e.g. What are some good books on Native American women? Any articles on AIDS awareness?); 2) to share pedagogical knowledge (e.g. what is the research on different learning styles?); 3) to enhance teachers' awareness of popular culture (e.g. What is happening with that case on Public Enemy that the kids keep talking about?); and 4) to have a time and space for teachers to share (e.g. How have you been handling...? Have you read...?). The potential for such study groups is immense. They would break down teacher isolation; they would empower teachers by their realizing that there are resources and support available right in the building; and they could make the curriculum more interesting as new ideas are exchanged and tried. By discussing stories about student patterns, teachers

would see that there is more to a particular student's needs than they had assumed. The gains for the students are as great as those for the teachers. By having teachers' who are more attuned to their needs, more aware of diverse learning styles, and more knowledgeable about materials that reflect their culture, students can begin to trust their teachers' competence and caring. Teacher and student can begin to engage in a process of sharing and learning, rather than defining and defending.

NEEDED ADMINISTRATIVE CHANGES.

While many recommendations have been presented in this paper to better prepare teachers to function in our multicultural world, all will be lost if creative energy and vital ideas are dissipated fighting "bureaucratic" battles. In order to alleviate this possibility, major systemic changes are required in our public schools. Herbst is convinced that

> Unless our educational establishments...free themselves from their fixation on the accoutrements of scientific and administrative professionalization and put the focus on the center of education, that is, on teaching and learning and teachers and students, we shall wait in vain for that much-longed-for renaissance.[121]

Teachers cannot continue to be expected to teach five different classes a day with 30-40 students from very diverse backgrounds five days a week and remain sane, especially if they try to do it alone. Classrooms need to be restructured whereby students stay with teachers as a cohort group for a longer period of time and teachers work in teams for teaching and/or planning.[122] Time and space is also important for on-going in-service training. In order for study groups to happen on school time, teachers could be relieved from the classroom for a couple of hours a week or semi-monthly. This does not mean that students are released from school during this time. Rather a variety of "substitutes" could come into the building. These individuals might be experts in a particular subject area, business people who give a job perspective, or community people who have skills and knowledge to share. A resource often untapped are those individuals who have retired from teaching or other professions. They have years of experience and many would be honored to be invited into a classroom to speak. Students would benefit by having a wider range of role models to interact with and new voices to hear. These speakers could be organized around a theme each semester so that there is some continuity to their presentations. They could also network

with each other and meet together to plan their own sessions. Such networking in itself would encourage another level of learning within the community. When young people see their parents and grandparents preparing for a class that they are going to have a hand in teaching, students will begin to see schooling as an extension of the community and relevant to their lives.

There are several models which incorporate some of the ideas mentioned in this paper. The first, a community team-based model, has been most highly developed by Comer, i.e., education takes place beyond the school building and those involved in the educational process must be joined in a common purpose. For this reason Comer brings together social workers, psychologists, teacher aides, health professionals, bilingual assistants, parents, and community volunteers. His emphasis is on the developmental and interpersonal skills of students, teachers and other co-workers/educators.

A second model adds to the first but focuses on bringing teachers together in the classroom. Through team-teaching in interdisciplinary coordinated studies programs teachers are able to attend to the needs of students over a longer period of time in a variety of settings. Class time becomes more flexible. Teacher isolation is alleviated by having colleagues to share and plan with, providing support and feedback. Students gain in that they can get to know their teachers and their classmates in depth. Attendance and discipline are not major issues because the class, being in such close contact with the teacher and each other, monitors itself.

A variation of this model would divide a building into "communities" whereby three teachers are responsible for the same 80-90 students for two to three years. Teachers teach in the area of their expertise: math/science, language arts/reading, social studies, but coordinate their coursework together. A period each day is set aside for such planning. Students move between these three teachers whose classes are in the same area of the building. In addition the building employs special art, music, and gym teachers as well as librarians. Those who use this model say that it works well for both students and teachers. Teachers have noted that they "can read the kids like a book" and therefore anticipate problems before they reach crisis stage. They also indicate closer contact with families.

A slightly different version of this variation would focus on learning environments. Students would move between the laboratory, the studio/shop, and the library. Teachers whose specialty could best be taught in one of these spaces would conduct their coursework in that environment. Writing would occur throughout; computers would be available in each space. Larger spans of time would be allotted for individualized and group work; not everything would have

to done everyday. In order for any of these programs to be effectively implemented, however, they need to be modeled at the pre-service level. That means that teacher education faculty must have the pedagogical skills as well as interdisciplinary training themselves to be able to teach in this format.

EDUCATING THE FACULTY OF TEACHER EDUCATION PROGRAMS.

Ironic, though not surprising, college of education faculty are seldom held accountable for how they train future teachers. It is fallacy to assume that coursework taught by college faculty members seldom have contact with public schools will be able to prepare student teachers for the demands of today's classrooms. Colleges of education which should be models for innovative, effective teaching are notorious for their reliance on traditional, uninspiring instruction techniques. While the entire university needs to be retrained, reoriented, and retooled for the various realities that our students bring to college, colleges of education should take the lead. Past procedures have at best only guaranteed that teachers meet the academic demands of classes, "not that they demonstrate growth in traits essential to effective teaching."[123]

The gap that has historically existed between town and gown could most easily be bridged by colleges of education which have a natural liaison with the community through student internships and initial placements. In an ideal setting one could see the colleges of education acting as a cultural translator for the needs of the community and the future students that would feed into the university. It is because of the disconnection from the original mission for colleges of education that we find ourselves with fewer and fewer teachers who are prepared to enter teaching and willing to commit to a profession that requires more than theoretical knowledge of subject matter. Which brings us to the crux of the problem: the education of faculty in colleges of education. How do we affect change of attitude, teaching styles, content, process, etc. in university faculties when the orientation and reward of university faculty members is directed away from teaching, students, and service? Goodlad reminds us that

> The faculty is confronted with the task of ensuring that future teachers are literate and thoughtful inquirers into knowledge and teaching. At the same time, every effort must be made to remedy the deficiencies of eager candidates whose backgrounds have left them disadvantaged. ...faculty must devote particular attention to the intercultural ignorance and prejudice embedded in the value systems brought to college by those who want to teach. Failure to do so allows these values to be carried, unchallenged and unexamined, into the schools.[124]

It is essential that we come to terms with the significant role that teacher education faculty play in the education of our children. There is little hope for public school education if those faculty members who teach in colleges of education and are responsible for the training of future teachers remain detached from and ignorant of the daily realities of the classroom and the children within. If these faculty members refuse to take as their mission the preparation of educators for today's schools, it will not be long before colleges of education become irrelevant and extinct.

IV. CONCLUSIONS

Teaching these days is difficult. The expectation that all children must have a high school education has become firmly established while human and material resources have not kept pace. In the past a high school certificate was not necessary for working class jobs in factories and services. Students are now forced to stay in schools that reward academic prowess rather than personal development. Many students have little tolerance or interest in formal education as presently structured. There are few options available within the system to prepare them for the still fewer options that they will face in the future. The result is apathy or anger at being relegated to the bottom of society without the skills or means of support. It is the public school teacher who faces this situation on a daily basis.

Teachers tend to internalize their failure as though it were something that they could have been averted or handled differently. In order for teachers to "save face" they leave the classroom either for administrative jobs or for other occupations before the damage to them and the children is too great. In reality the system continues to set teachers up for failure by not preparing them for a job which is demanding and which requires a unique level of commitment. We have a situation in which everyone fails and everyone has genuine cause for concern, if not rage.

We must question, then, what type of a system would consistently renege on its responsibility to train future teachers for the classroom and thereby guarantee failure to a large percentage of students. What type of country could be so short-sighted as to refuse to make the investment in its next generation? If we assume that talent is roughly equally distributed, then how can we afford to have half of our population's talent not fully utilized? If our educational system is to assist in keeping this country economically competitive, but then limits access to the education and training necessary to gain the skills for full

participation, how can we survive, not to mention compete?

The shortage of minority teachers is embedded in a context of poverty, school desegregation, urban decay, higher education elitism, and racism in its many forms. The evidence is clear that there is a much larger supply of potential teachers among communities of color than is evident from the current minority student enrollment in teacher education programs in universities with traditionally white student bodies.[125] The continuing success of historically Black colleges in training new teachers is part of that evidence. While poverty and racism have slowed academic achievement in urban communities, the lack of active recruitment and community partnerships on the part of teacher education programs has contributed significantly to the low enrollments in those programs. Adding to this situation is the inertia of the teaching profession and its training programs based on selection criteria and forms of recruitment which perpetuate stereotypes of teaching based on the typical teacher of the middle-class suburban school.

The disparity between the rhetoric of inclusion ("we need more minorities to teach") and the reality of exclusion ("there aren't enough 'qualified' candidates in the pipeline") does not go unnoticed in the minority community. Minority group members have proven themselves able and willing to teach their own people and others for generations. What we refuse to acknowledge is that the pipeline has been defined and designed to screen out people who are different from the majority culture. Until we allow "marginal" people to be part of the decision-making process by which education is defined we will not have a substantial increase in persons of color in that pipeline.

The issue maybe not why are there so few minority teachers, but why have we only allowed those who have succeeded in a deficient educational system to become teachers. The sad irony of this is that if we incorporated into the system the very people who have been abused by the system we might gain insight as to how to best alter it to fit their needs. Yet by doing so those who have benefitted from the system fear to lose what they have gained.

The question then is not one of supply but rather demand. There are enough potential teachers of color in our schools. What is lacking is the demand by society that those individuals are provided with an adequate education so that all children will have the opportunity to choose teaching as a profession. The argument that we are losing minority group people to other more lucrative professions is muted by high school dropout rates and unemployment statistics. A school system which was referred to as "denial with desegregation" by one black informant is not the kind of place you would expect minority youth to flock to for their life's work.

It is my contention that a new type of teacher must emerge from this crisis in education. A new perspective must support a new type of educational process which can guarantee that all children graduate from our schools equipped to participate in society as aware, capable and literate individuals. By producing such a population we create opportunities for all students to choose their future career. If we are able to do our job in K-12 schooling, there would not be a shortage of minority teachers. The reality, however, is that 1) teachers are not adequately prepared for the diversity of the classroom, and 2) they are not able to do their work effectively due to circumstances beyond their control. Teachers need help because kids need help. Training and educating a diverse teaching force who are dedicated, caring and capable is one step towards a solution to the education of our youth.

> From these many voices can come a richness for our schools and society as the complexities of living together are no longer hidden from view. Tension between subcultures and the dominant culture will persist, but we can provide experiences with diversity for future teachers that will give them the insight and skills to teach all of the children in our society.[126]

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